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THE IMPACT OF ETHNIC IDENTITY ON STEREOTYPES

A Thesis
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
in
Psychology

by
Teresa Patchill

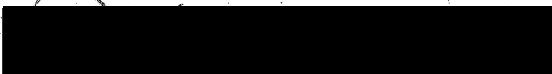
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Approved by:


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6/1/95


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ABSTRACT

This study examined how level of familiarity with other ethnic groups and the degree of identification with one's own ethnic group influence positive and negative ethnic stereotypes. One-hundred fifty male and female college students served as subjects. Each subject represented one of four ethnic groups included in this study: Latino, African American, Caucasian, and Asian American. The study consisted of subjects completing a demographic sheet and the following questionnaires: 1) the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), which assessed the degree of each subject's ethnic identification; 2) the level of contact scale, which assessed the level of familiarity that each group possessed for the other ethnic groups; and 3) the Ethnic Stereotype Questionnaire (ESQ), which assessed the type of ethnic terms each group assigned to their own and other ethnic groups. It was hypothesized that as the level of familiarity with a particular ethnic group increased, the degree of positive stereotype scores assigned to that group would increase (Hypothesis 1). It was also hypothesized that as one's ethnic identity increased, the degree of positive stereotype scores for one's own group would increase (Hypothesis 2a). Moreover, it was hypothesized that as one's ethnic identity increased, negative stereotype scores for one's own group would decrease (Hypothesis 2b). The Pearson Product Moment

Correlation was used to test the first hypothesis and partial support was found for our prediction that as familiarity with a particular group increased, the degree of positive stereotype scores for that group would also increase, $p < .05$. The Pearson Product Moment Correlation was also used to test the second hypothesis, and partial support was found for our prediction that as the degree of ethnic identification with one's own group increased, the degree of positive stereotype scores for one's own group would increase, $p < .05$. There was also partial support for the prediction that as the degree of ethnic identification with one's own group increased, the degree of negative stereotype scores for one's own group would decrease, $p < .05$. The results suggest that familiarity with other ethnic groups and identification with one's own ethnic group can be important criteria when assessing ethnic stereotypes. The results also suggest that the judgment of some terms used in stereotype research differs according to ethnic group identity.

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INTRODUCTION

For several years, considerable research has focused on understanding the factors and the structural processes involved in the formation of stereotypes. A definition of stereotyping has been provided by Zarate and Smith (1990), who stated that stereotyping is "...the generation of expectations or assumptions concerning a particular individual based on the individual's group or category membership" (p.161). Much research has concentrated on ethnic stereotypes which, according to the literature, have been influenced by three major sources: cognition, ethnic identity, and in-group/out-group social theory. Although each source may have an independent influence on ethnic stereotypes, some of the recent literature has attempted to integrate these three sources to form a more cohesive understanding of how ethnic stereotypes are formed.

Cognitive Aspects of Stereotypes

Many of the theories that explore the evolution of stereotyping are based on a cognitive approach. According to Reed (1992), the cognitive activity of categorization may help an individual to better organize the world. Categorization also helps individuals classify novel information through the use of prototypes (Reed, 1992; Dovidio, Evans, and Tyler, 1986). Prototypes are patterns that are the best representation of a category; other

members of a category can be classified according to their similarity or dissimilarity to the prototypical pattern. As pointed out by Reed (1992), the process of comparing all members of a category to the prototype can lead to stereotypes when the features of the members of a category are exaggerated to conform to the prototypical model.

When the members of a category are people, stereotypes can be formed through utilizing social categories. Social categorization allows the individual to be categorized by others according to how much that individual shares attributes with other members of a group (Reed, 1992).

People can be categorized along many dimensions, including race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, and gender.

Stereotyping can result when people are judged according to attributes that are generally associated with their group members, rather than their individual attributes (Allport, 1954; Tajfel and Turner, 1986; Lalonde and Gardner, 1989; Perdue et al., 1990).

Much of the research in relation to stereotypes has focused on this process of social categorization in which people categorize themselves or others according to their own group (referred to as the in-group) or another group (referred to as the out-group), respectively. In one such study conducted by Perdue and his collaborators (1990), the use of words that referred to either in-group or out-group

status (such as *us* or *them*) were examined to understand how they may influence intergroup biases. The results of a series of experiments, using semantic priming and semantic conditioning tasks, indicated that in-group associated words and out-group associated words did influence intergroup biases. For example, nonsense syllables which were paired with words referring to an in-group (e.g., *we*) were evaluated more positively by subjects than those syllables paired with words referring to an out-group (e.g., *them*).

Social Identity Theory

The cognitive processing of in-group and out-groups is also connected to the concept of social identity (Garza and Herringer, 1986; Lalonde and Gardner, 1989; Perdue et al., 1990; Tajfel and Turner, 1979). As explained by Babad, Birnbaum and Benne (1983), an individual's social identity consists of "a complex integration of personality attributes, unique experiences, personal choices, and the individual sense of 'self' on the one hand, and 'socio-identities,' which are the products of various group memberships, on the other hand" (p.37). One theory associated with social identity maintains that individuals wish to associate their in-group with a positive social identity and will therefore evaluate in-group members more favorably than out-group members. Associating the in-group with a positive social identity helps the individuals within

that in-group maintain their self-esteem (Tajfel and Turner, 1986).

Moreover, in order to better facilitate the cognitive processing of stereotypes, people may generally assume that there are more homogeneous characteristics among members of a particular out-group than among members of their own group. By assuming that members of a particular out-group are homogeneous, it is easier for the perceiver to generalize more similar characteristics to members of the out-group (Quattrone and Jones, 1980). The belief in out-group homogeneity is directly related to the formation of stereotypes, because stereotypes represent general agreement among members of a group concerning the pertinent attributes of another group (Lalonde and Gardner, 1989).

A study by Lalonde and Gardner (1989) examined the cognitive structures of in-group and out-group stereotyping in a series of reaction time studies. Canadian and Chinese subjects were used to examine the cognitive structure of ethnic national stereotypes of five group labels: Canadian, Chinese, American, Filipino, and Mexican. The results showed that stereotypes exist for both in-groups and out-groups. For both sets of subjects the stereotypes that were connected with the in-groups were more positive in nature and therefore represented a more favorable attitude toward the respective in-groups. In addition, members of an in-

group generally took longer to process attributes associated with their in-group than attributes associated with an out-group. In general, the authors explained this result as evidence that members of an in-group attribute more heterogeneity among their in-group than among out-groups.

Ethnic Identity

One type of social identity that should be considered in the development of ethnic stereotypes is ethnic identity, since ethnicity is a variable that is frequently used to categorize people (Dovidio et al., 1986). Although there are varying definitions of ethnic identity, Smith (1991) provides general definitions of the terms ethnic group and ethnic identity. According to Smith (1991), an ethnic group is a "reference group called upon by people who share a common history and culture, who may be identifiable because they share similar physical features and values and who, through the process of interacting with each other and establishing boundaries with others, identify themselves as being part of that group. Ethnic identity is the sum total of group members' feelings about those values, symbols, and common histories that identify them as a distinct group" (pp. 181-182). Also, ethnic identity is usually established within the boundaries of minority/majority status, with the majority members being generally defined by their positions of power within the society.

According to Smith (1991), societies that divide people into groups of majority and minority status are likely to experience ethnic identity conflicts. These conflicts develop because majority and minority groups have trouble identifying with one another. Conflicts between these two groups are exacerbated when one group establishes boundaries and restrictions to exclude the other group. An example would be school segregation in which children of minority groups are not allowed to attend schools populated by children of the majority group. However, minority groups may also set up boundaries to exclude the majority group (Smith, 1991).

Smith (1991) outlines nine different types of conflicts that members of minority and majority groups may experience. Two examples of such conflicts are 1) ethnic self-identification versus non-ethnic self-identification and 2) self-acceptance versus other-group acceptance. Contact with nonmembers may initiate the conflict, even if the contact resulted in a positive experience. This implies that both positive and negative experiences serve to cause an individual to re-think previous evaluations of nonmembers. Also, as a response to the conflict, members may develop ego defense mechanisms (e.g., projection or displacement) in order to resolve the psychological tensions that result from such conflicts.

Moreover, as suggested by Smith (1991), there are four phases concerning the resolution of ethnic identity conflicts: 1) preoccupation with self, or the preservation of ethnic self identity, 2) preoccupation with the ethnic conflict and with salient ethnic out-groups, 3) resolution of conflict, and 4) integration. As an individual approaches resolution of an ethnic identity conflict, he or she comes closer to entering the next stage of ethnic identity development. If a conflict is not resolved, progression to the next stage is prevented.

Smith's (1991) model is only one example of how the stages of ethnic identity have been described in the literature. Another interesting perspective on ethnic identity has been provided by Manuel (1982). Instead of explaining ethnic identity development in terms of phases in ethnic identity conflict, Manuel (1982) suggests that the extent of identification with a particular ethnic group's attributes helps determine ethnic group identity. Therefore, if an individual is highly accepting of attributes associated with an ethnic group, that individual is more likely to identify himself or herself with that particular ethnic group.

Manuel (1982) recommends two scales to measure the extent of ethnic identification: the Group Cohesiveness Scale and the Ethnic Identity Questionnaire. Although both

scales are targeted towards certain ethnic populations, Manuel (1982) believes the scales are highly adaptable to other ethnic groups.

A measure of ethnic identity which can be immediately applied to all ethnic groups, however, has been developed by Phinney (1992). As Phinney (1992) notes, although past research has focused on ethnic identity as a concept to be studied across different ethnic groups, the assessment of ethnic identity has focused on the unique attributes within each group. As a result, such findings cannot be generalized to all ethnic groups. In response to this problem, Phinney (1992) has developed the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) that assesses elements from all ethnic groups. Phinney's (1992) measure assesses the key elements of ethnic behaviors and practices, positive ethnic attitudes and sense of belongingness to the group, and ethnic identity achievement. According to Phinney (1992), ethnic identity achievement is an evolving process of exploration and resolution of key issues in ethnic identity development. Unresolved identity issues can lead to ethnic identity diffusion; whereas the exploration of the elements associated with one's ethnic group can lead to ethnic identity formation. The emphasis placed on resolution of ethnic identity issues draws parallels to Smith's (1991) model of ethnic identity.

Unfortunately, the importance of establishing a healthy ethnic identity has been ignored by many white writers (Phinney, 1990). According to Phinney (1990), many white writers have ignored the psychological aspects of being a member of an ethnic minority group. More specifically, ethnic identity helps the minority individual maintain his or her self-esteem and psychological well-being when faced with discrimination and hostility from the dominant majority group (Phinney, 1990). The self-esteem of minority group members is also challenged when the majority group holds most of the positions of power within the society (Smith, 1991). This need to maintain a positive group image is why ethnic identity is often linked to social identity theory, because being a member of a group creates a sense of belongingness that is sufficient to maintain positive self-esteem (Phinney, 1990; Tajfel and Turner, 1979).

Various studies have examined the importance of ethnic identity in many populations. In one such study by Phinney and Alipuria (1990), the issue of ethnic identity was evaluated by means of a questionnaire which was distributed to a group of white college students and three groups of minority college students: Asian-American, Black, and Mexican-American. The results indicated that exploration of ethnic identity was a more important issue for minority students than for white students. Moreover, the self-esteem

of minority subjects was influenced by the extent to which they had explored and resolved issues of their own ethnicity (Phinney and Alipuria, 1990).

Acculturation

Ethnic identity should not be confused with acculturation, since each term represents a distinct concept. However, according to the literature on ethnic identity and acculturation, both are important variables for determining how people perceive themselves and others (Garza and Herringer, 1986; Phinney, 1990; Sadowsky et al., 1991). As with ethnic identity, several definitions have been provided for acculturation. Phinney (1990) views acculturation as "...changes in cultural attitudes, values, and behaviors that result from contact between two distinct cultures...(p. 501). A sociological perspective on acculturation was provided several decades ago by the Social Science Research Council (1954), which defined acculturation as "culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems. Its dynamics can be seen as the selective adaptation of value systems, the processes of integration and differentiation, the generation of developmental sequences, and the operation of role determinants and personality factors" (p.974).

An anthropological approach to acculturation was provided by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936), who

explained that acculturation results when "groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (p. 149). Ethnic identity can be viewed as a subcategory of acculturation, since, as Phinney (1990) explains, "...the concern is with individuals and the focus is on how they relate to their own group as a subgroup of the larger society" (p. 501).

It has been suggested that such sociological and anthropological perspectives do not consider how acculturation occurs on the individual level (Sodowsky et al., 1991). Only recently has the literature begun to focus on such topics as within-group heterogeneity and individual differences among subgroups of minority populations.

Familiarity Among Groups

To a certain degree, the construct of acculturation is related to the construct of familiarity. Studies have suggested that acculturation has its greatest impact on ethnic stereotypes in terms of the degree of familiarity that cross-cultural groups have with one another (McGrady and McGrady, 1976; Triandis and Vassiliou 1967). There has been considerable disagreement in the research literature concerning how contact (or degree of familiarity) among ethnic groups affects stereotypes. While some studies have found that contact among different ethnic groups will

diminish negative ethnic stereotypes (Berry and Kalin, 1979; Amir et al., 1973) others studies have shown that increased contact among ethnic groups will increase the development of negative stereotypes. Moreover, according to a study by McAndrew (1989), groups that have high contact are more likely to openly express both negative and positive opinions about each other. In addition, Ray (1983) has reviewed research that suggests there is no solid support for believing that contact among ethnic groups has any great impact on stereotypes. However, despite the conflicting research concerning degree of familiarity and stereotypes, it is anticipated that future studies will find that familiarity does have a direct influence on stereotypes.

In summarizing all the aforementioned research, it is clear that cognitive, psychological, and social processes are interacting in the development of ethnic stereotypes. In short, the cognitive process of categorization can lead people to evaluate themselves and others according to in-group and out-group membership, respectively (Perdue et al., 1990). Furthermore, in-group and out-group processing has been linked to social identity theory, which states that individuals prefer to evaluate members of their in-group more positively than they do members of out-groups (Tajfel and Turner, 1979, 1986; Lalonde and Gardner, 1989; Perdue et al., 1990). Moreover, in-group/out-group categorization may

be mediated by ethnic identity, because one's resolution of conflicts during each phase of ethnic identity conflict will influence how an individual conceptualizes members of the in-group and out-groups (Smith, 1991). In addition, a recently developed measure by Phinney (1992) allows for a generalized evaluation of ethnic identity because it includes elements that are common to all ethnic groups.

Although ethnic identity is sometimes considered a subcategory of acculturation, it has been suggested that they are two distinct constructs. With regard to the relationship between acculturation and ethnic stereotypes, acculturation has been considered to have its greatest impact on ethnic stereotypes in terms of the degree of familiarity (or contact) that cross-cultural groups have with one another (McGrady and McGrady, 1976; Triandis and Vassiliou, 1967). However, there is disagreement in the literature regarding the effect that contact among ethnic groups has on ethnic stereotypes (Berry and Kalin, 1979; Amir, Bizman, and Rivner, 1973; McAndrew, 1989; Ray, 1983).

Due to the conflicting results concerning the relationship between level of contact (or familiarity) and ethnic stereotypes, and the lack of research concerning how ethnic identity directly affects stereotyping, the current study attempted to investigate these issues. More specifically, this study considered how members of a

particular ethnic group perceived ethnic stereotypes in relation to members of their own group and members of other groups.

With regard to the relationship between level of familiarity and ethnic stereotypes, we hypothesized that as the level of familiarity with a particular ethnic group ($X \rightarrow Y$) increased, the degree of positive stereotype scores for that group would also increase ($X \rightarrow Y$) (Hypothesis 1). In other words, we predicted that there would be a positive relationship between the level of familiarity and the degree of positive evaluation (i.e., the higher the familiarity scores ($X \rightarrow Y$), the higher the scores of positive stereotypes, ($X \rightarrow Y$)) [Note: $X \rightarrow X$ means one's evaluation of about one's own group; $X \rightarrow Y$ means one's evaluation about a certain ethnic group other than his/her own].

With regard to the relationship between degree of ethnic identity and ethnic stereotypes, we hypothesized that as the degree of identification with one's own ethnic group ($X \rightarrow X$) increased, the degree of positive stereotypes for one's own group would increase (Hypothesis 2a). In other words, we predicted that the higher the identity scores ($X \rightarrow X$), the higher the scores of positive stereotypes ($X \rightarrow X$). Similarly, we hypothesized that as the degree of identification with one's own ethnic group increased ($X \rightarrow X$), the degree of negative stereotypes for one's own group

($X \rightarrow X$) would decrease (Hypothesis 2b). In addition, because the literature is unclear about how the degree of one's ethnic identification directly influences stereotypes for other groups, an exploratory analysis of this issue was conducted.

As will be seen in the "method" section below, attributional terms with scores less than 3 on the original scale of 1 to 5 are considered to be negative terms. In order to make the data more sensible to readers, we changed the origin of the scale by making the original neutral point (3) equal to 0. Thus, after scale transformation, the attributional terms with negative scores were considered as negative stereotypes. The higher the absolute scores of the negative terms, the more negative evaluations they implied. As a result, we predicted that there is a positive relationship between the set of identity scores ($X \rightarrow X$) and the set of absolute scores for negative stereotypes ($X \rightarrow X$). In other words, the higher the identity scores ($X \rightarrow X$), the higher the absolute scores for negative stereotypes ($X \rightarrow X$).

METHOD

Design

A correlational study was used to test the proposed hypotheses. The variables are: 1) degree of ethnic identity ($X \rightarrow X$); 2) level of familiarity (or contact) with other

ethnic groups (X → Y); 3) the degree of positive stereotypes; and 4) the degree of negative stereotypes.

Subjects

One hundred and fifty subjects (43 male and 106 female; one subject did not indicate gender) were recruited for this study on a voluntary basis from a small southwestern university. Demographic information was obtained concerning each subject's age, gender, ethnicity, and educational background. Subjects ranged in age from 18 to 61 years, with a mean age of 28 years and 7 months. The subjects were divided into four different ethnic groups according to their ethnicity. There were 35 subjects in the African American group (6 male and 29 female, with a mean age of 32 years), 34 subjects in the Latino group (14 male and 20 female, with a mean age of 26 years and 5 months), 42 subjects in the Caucasian group (11 male and 30 female, with a mean age of 29 years and 4 months), and 39 subjects in the Asian American group (12 male and 27 female, with a mean age of 26 years and 8 months). All subjects were treated according to the Ethical Principles of Psychologists established by the American Psychological Association (APA, 1982).

Materials and Scoring

The materials used in this study included: 1) a demographic sheet; 2) the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM); 3) a level of contact scale; and 4) a questionnaire

containing a list of positive, neutral, and negative attributes pertaining to ethnic stereotypes (hereafter, the Ethnic Stereotype Questionnaire (ESQ)).

1. The demographic sheet (see Appendix A). A demographic sheet was included to obtain information concerning each subject's age, gender, marital status, yearly income, ethnicity, and educational background.

2. The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM, see Appendix B). The degree of ethnic identity was evaluated using the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) developed by Phinney (1992). The MEIM examines three elements of ethnic identity: 1) Affirmation and Belonging (5 items: 6, 11, 14, 18, and 20), 2) Ethnic Identity Achievement (7 items: 1, 3, 5, 8R, 10R, 12, and 13), and Ethnic Behaviors (2 items: 2 and 16). In addition to these three subscales, the MEIM also includes one open-ended question asking about the subject's ethnic self-identification and two items concerning parents' ethnicity (one for mother, the other for father). Also, as mentioned earlier, there are six items (4, 7R, 9, 15R, 17, and 19) which are included in the MEIM for examining other-group familiarity (or other-group orientation). Each MEIM item consists of a statement such as "I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group", and a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly

agree). The score range for each item is thus 1 to 4. The total score range for the entire identity measure is 1 to 56. The mean score range for the entire identity measure is 1 to 4.

The MEIM was administered by Phinney (1992) to a high school sample and a college sample, both of which consisted of ethnically diverse subjects. The overall reliability of the 14-item Ethnic Identity Scale (i.e., based on the overall sum of scores across the three subscales) was .81 for the high school sample and .90 for the college sample. The reliability of the 5-item Affirmation and Belonging subscale was .75 for the high school sample and .86 for the college sample. For the 7-item Ethnic Identity Achievement subscale, reliabilities were .69 and .80 for the high school and college samples, respectively.

3. The level of contact scale (see Appendix C). The level of contact scale was used to assess the level of familiarity that each ethnic group possessed for each of the other ethnic groups ($X \rightarrow Y$). The level of contact scale consists of six items adopted from Phinney's (1992) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (items 4, 7R, 9, 15R, 17, and 19). The original six items from Phinney's (1992) measure are a subscale that examine other-group orientation. For the current study, each item consists of a statement related to the familiarity that each subject has with

his/her own group and each of the three other groups in the study. In each statement, a term representing each ethnic group is associated with a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree). The score range for each item is 1 to 4 and for the whole scale is 6 to 24.

4. The Ethnic Stereotype Questionnaire (ESQ, see Appendix D). The ESQ consists of 30 attributional words selected from Gilbert's (1951) Adjective Check List. According to Gilbert (1951), some of the attributional words are positive terms; some are negative terms, and the remaining ones are neutral terms. Approximately an equal number of each type were included. The ESQ consists of two parts. In the first part, each subject was asked to select 10 out of the 30 terms which he/she thought were most representative of each ethnic group (page 1 to page 4, one page for each ethnic group). After selecting the 10 terms, the subject was asked to rank order these ten selected items, with #1 being the most representative of the ten they selected, and #10 being the least representative of the ten they selected. In the second part, the subject was asked to rate each of the 30 attributes by using a 5-point Likert scale (1 for negative, 3 for neutral, and 5 for positive).

On the original scale, the negative or positive feature of an attributional word is represented by a continuous

scale ranging from 1 (most negative) to 5 (most positive) with 3 as the neutral point. As mentioned earlier in the hypotheses section, in order to make the data more sensible to the readers, we changed the origin of the 5-point scale (1 to 5) by making the original neutral point (3) equal to 0. Thus, after scale transformation, the negative points represent negative features; and the positive points represent positive features. A higher positive score (e.g., 2) indicates a more positive evaluation, whereas a higher absolute negative score (e.g., |-2|) indicates a more negative evaluation.

Since people with different ethnic backgrounds may view a particular attributional word differently in terms of its positive/neutral/negative feature and/or the degree, the mean score of each attribute evaluated by a particular ethnic group was thus used to indicate the degree and the positive/neutral/negative feature of that attribute assigned by members of that ethnic group to his or her own group or other groups. When evaluating one particular ethnic group, a subject may select 0 to 10 terms with positive features to represent that ethnic group. The score range (after scale transformation) for a positive term is above 0 to 2. Thus, the possible score range for positive stereotypes representing a particular group is 0 to 20. Similarly, a subject may select 0 to 10 negative terms to represent a

particular ethnic group. The score range (after scale transformation) for a negative term is -2 to almost 0. Thus, the possible score range for negative stereotypes representing a particular group is -20 to 0.

Procedure

Information about this study was posted on bulletin boards throughout the psychology department of the university. On these sheets of paper were information regarding the nature and purpose of this study, as well as a request for volunteers.

Individuals interested in participating were instructed to obtain the questionnaire packet from the Psychology Department's Peer Advising Center. Some packets were also attached to the bulletin boards near the information sheets. Another attempt to recruit volunteers consisted of making an announcement during class time in undergraduate and graduate psychology courses. Volunteers were informed that their answers would be confidential, and that only group data would be employed in the study.

All subjects were asked to sign an informed consent form (see Appendix E) prior to their participation. The packet that was distributed to all volunteers included the informed consent form, a demographic sheet, the MEIM, the level of familiarity scale, and the ESQ. The packets were either completed during class time, or completed at a later

time. Subjects were asked to return the completed packets to the Psychology Department's Peer Advising Center.

Upon return of the completed questionnaires, subjects were given a debriefing statement (see Appendix F) that informed them as to the reasons for conducting the study. The debriefing statement also provided subjects with information on how to obtain results of the completed study, and the appropriate persons to contact if they should have questions regarding their participation in the study. Extra credit slips were available to students, as some instructors allowed students to obtain extra credit in their courses for research participation.

RESULTS

Familiarity, ethnic identity, and degree of positive and negative stereotypes and the relationship between these variables were assessed for African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans and Caucasians. In the following section, we report series of descriptive statistics for each related variable. We also report the results of a set of Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Co-efficients which were used to test the significance between variables. The probability level of $p = .05$ was adopted in this study to conclude the significance of each statistical test.

Familiarity Scores

Table 1 provides information concerning the total and mean familiarity scores each group evaluated for his or her own group ($X \rightarrow X$) and the other groups ($X \rightarrow Y$). As indicated in Table 1, the mean familiarity scores each group gave to itself and to the other groups ranged from 2.99 to 3.80 (on a scale of 1 to 4, 4 indicating high familiarity). This suggests that the groups have moderate to high familiarity with each other.

Table 1
Familiarity Scores: Group X's Evaluation of His or Her Own Group (X) and Other Groups (Y)

Ethnic Group Doing the Evaluation	Ethnic Group that was Evaluated			
	Latino	African American	Caucasian	Asian American
Latino	22.79 ^a (3.80) ^b	19.12 (3.19)	20.52 (3.42)	17.94 (2.99)
African American	19.68 (3.28)	22.29 (3.72)	19.71 (3.29)	18.76 (3.13)
Caucasian	21.45 (3.58)	20.79 (3.47)	22.78 (3.80)	19.93 (3.32)
Asian American	18.34 (3.06)	18.61 (3.10)	19.84 (3.31)	21.53 (3.59)

^aTotal familiarity score (total familiarity score for a particular group ranges from 6 to 24).

^bMean familiarity score (mean familiarity score for a particular group ranges from 1 to 4).

Note: The familiarity score ranges from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree).

Positive Stereotype Scores

Table 2 provides information concerning the positive stereotype scores that each group assigned to itself and the other ethnic groups. The actual scores for the positive stereotype evaluation range from 4.55 to 13.50, with the possible score range of 0 to 20. As mentioned before, the higher the score, the more positive the stereotype evaluation for a particular group.

Latinos gave their highest positive evaluations to Caucasians, followed by Asian Americans, their own group, then African Americans.

African Americans gave their highest positive evaluations to Asian Americans, followed by their own group, Latinos, then Caucasians.

Caucasians gave their highest positive evaluations to Asian Americans, followed by their own group, Latinos, then African Americans.

Asian Americans also gave their own group the highest positive evaluation, followed by Caucasians, Latinos, then African Americans.

Overall, Latinos gave their highest positive stereotype scores to Caucasians; all the other groups gave Asian Americans their highest stereotype score. In contrast, African Americans gave their least positive evaluation to Caucasians, while the other groups gave their least positive

Table 2

Positive Stereotype Scores: Group X's Evaluation of His or Her Own Group (X)
and the Other Groups (Y)

Ethnic Group that was Evaluated (Y)				
Ethnic Group Doing the Evaluation (X)	Latino	African American	Caucasian	Asian American
Latino	7.87	4.55	13.50	8.32
African American	7.08	7.40	5.03	8.80
Caucasian	6.29	5.23	7.45	9.44
Asian American	5.20	4.15	5.27	8.03

Note: A higher score indicates a more positive stereotype evaluation.

The possible score range for positive stereotypes is 0 to 20.

evaluation to African Americans.

Negative Stereotype Scores

Table 3 provides information on the negative stereotype scores that each group assigned to itself and the other ethnic groups. The scores for the negative evaluation range from -4.43 to -.79. The possible score range is -20 to 0. The higher the absolute score the more negative is the stereotype evaluation for a particular group.

Latinos gave their most negative evaluation to African Americans, followed by their own group, Caucasians, then Asian Americans.

African Americans gave their most negative evaluation to Caucasians, followed by Latinos, their own group, then Asian Americans.

Caucasians gave their most negative evaluation to African Americans, followed by Latinos, their own group, then Asian Americans.

Asian Americans gave their most negative evaluation to African Americans, followed by Latinos, Caucasians, then their own group.

Overall, African Americans received the most negative evaluation from all the groups except their own. Of all the groups included in the study, Asian Americans received the least negative evaluation from all the groups.

Table 3

Negative Stereotype Scores: Group X's Evaluation of His or Her Own Group (X)
and the Other Groups (Y)

		Ethnic Group that was Evaluated (Y)			
28	Ethnic Group Doing the Evaluation (X)	Latino	African American	Caucasian	Asian American
	Latino	-2.13	-4.43	-1.76	-1.50
	African American	-3.07	-2.57	-4.17	-1.47
	Caucasian	-3.38	-4.23	-2.65	-1.37
	Asian American	-2.69	-3.09	-1.57	-.79

Note: A higher absolute score indicates a more negative stereotype evaluation.
 The possible score range for negative stereotypes is -20 to 0.

Ethnic Identity

Table 4 provides information on the ethnic identity scores that subjects assigned to members of their own group. The possible scores range from 1 (low ethnic identity) to 4 (high ethnic identity). The results indicate that the order of the degree of ethnic identification is as follows: 1) African Americans (score = 3.33); 2) Latinos (score = 3.11); 3) Asian Americans (score = 3.04); and 4) Caucasians (score = 2.82).

Table 4

Ethnic Identity Scores: Group X's Evaluation
of His or Her Own Group (X)

Ethnic Group (X)	Identity Scores*
Latino	3.11
African American	3.33
Caucasian	2.82
Asian American	3.04

*The score range for the mean identity score is 1 to 4, where 1 means low identity; 4 means high identity.

Relationship Between Familiarity and Positive Stereotype Scores

The results concerning the relationship between the familiarity scores and the positive stereotype scores are summarized in Table 5. As can be seen from Table 5, a positive relationship between each group's level of familiarity and positive stereotype scores for a particular group was detected for most of the groups, except for Latinos' evaluation of Asian Americans, which showed a very low negative correlation.

In general, the positive relationships indicate that as the familiarity with a corresponding ethnic group increased, the positive stereotype evaluations for that group also increased. These findings, or increase in positive stereotypes as familiarity increased, were significant for: a) Latinos' evaluation of African Americans ($r(33) = .44, p < .01$); b) African Americans' evaluation of Latinos ($r(34) = .41, p < .01$); c) African Americans' evaluation of their own group ($r(34) = .47, p < .01$); d) Caucasians' evaluation of Latinos ($r(41) = .32, p < .05$); e) Caucasians' evaluation of African Americans ($r(41) = .41, p < .01$); f) Asian Americans' evaluation of Latinos ($r(38) = .40, p < .01$); and g) Asian Americans' evaluation of their own group ($r(38) = .49, p = .001$).

Familiarity and positive stereotypes were most highly

correlated for Asian Americans' ratings of their own group. Conversely, there was virtually no significant relationship for: a) Latinos' evaluation of their own group; b) Latinos' evaluation of Caucasians; c) Latinos' evaluation of Asian Americans; d) African Americans' evaluation of Caucasians; e) African Americans' evaluation of Asian Americans; f) Caucasians' evaluation of their own group; g) Caucasians' evaluation of Asian Americans; h) Asian Americans' evaluation of African Americans; and i) Asian Americans' evaluation of Caucasians.

Table 5

Correlation Coefficients Between Group X's Familiarity and Positive Stereotype Scores
for His or Her Own Group (X) and Other Groups (Y)

		Ethnic Group (Y)			
Ethnic Group (X)		Latino	African American	Caucasian	Asian American
32	Latino	.23	.44	.06	-.11
	(n=34)	p=.104	p=.005*	p=.369	p=.280
	African American	.41	.47	.26	.16
	(n=35)	p=.009*	p=.003*	p=.066	p=.182
	Caucasian	.32	.41	.17	.22
	(n=42)	p=.018*	p=.004*	p=.138	p=.082
	Asian American	.40	.24	.14	.49
	(n=39)	p=.006*	p=.075	p=.197	p=.001*

* $p < .05$

Relationship Between Ethnic Identity and Positive Stereotype Scores for One's Own Group

The results of the relationship between ethnic identity scores and positive stereotype scores for one's own group are given in Table 6. As can be seen from this table, for all four groups, a positive relationship between their identity scores and their positive stereotype scores was detected. That is, as the ethnic identity scores for a particular group increased, the positive stereotype scores that the same group assigned to itself also increased. This kind of positive relationship between identity scores and positive stereotype scores was significantly found for Caucasians ($r(41) = .30, p < .05$) and Asian Americans ($r(38) = .34, p < .05$).

Table 6

Correlation Coefficients Between Group X's Identity Scores and Positive Stereotype
Scores for His or Her Own Group (X)

Ethnic Group (X)				
Ethnic Group (X)	Latino	African American	Caucasian	Asian American
Latino (n=34)	.15 p=.200			
African American (n=35)		.23 p=.096		
Caucasian (n=42)			.30 p=.027*	
Asian American (n=39)				.34 p=.016*

* $p < .05$

Prediction: The higher the identity scores, the higher the scores of positive stereotypes.

Note: A higher positive score indicates a more positive evaluation.

Relationship Between Ethnic Identity and Negative Stereotype Scores for One's Own Group

Information regarding the relationship between ethnic identity scores and negative stereotype scores for one's own group is provided in Table 7. As indicated in Table 7, there existed a negative relationship between the identity score for a particular group and the absolute score of negative stereotypes for that group. This set of results suggested that as the ethnic identity scores for a particular group increased, the less negative evaluations would be assigned to that group. In general, the results confirmed our prediction, and this predicted relationship was significantly detected for the Caucasian group ($r(41) = -.30; p < .05$).

Table 7

Correlation Coefficients Between Group X's Identity Scores and Negative Stereotype
Scores for His or Her Own Group (X)

Ethnic Group (X)				
Ethnic group (X)	Latino	African American	Caucasian	Asian American
Latino (n=34)	-.27 p=.060			
African American (n=35)		-.21 p=.116		
Caucasian (n=42)			-.30 p=.028*	
Asian American (n=39)				-.24 p=.072

* $p < .05$ Prediction: The higher the identity scores, the lower the absolute values for negative stereotypes.

Note: A higher absolute value for negative stereotypes indicates a more negative evaluation.

Note: The data entered into analyses for negative stereotypes were the absolute scores. A negative correlation coefficient indicates a relationship confirming the prediction.

Relationship Between Ethnic Identity and Positive Stereotype Scores for Other Groups

Table 8 provides information on the relationship between ethnic identity to one's own group and positive stereotype scores for other groups. A positive relationship indicates that as ethnic identity of a person's own group increased, the positive stereotype scores for other groups also increased. In contrast, a negative relationship indicates that as ethnic identity of a person's own group increased, the positive stereotype scores for other groups decreased.

As can be seen from Table 8, some of the groups showed a positive relationship and others showed a negative relationship between their own ethnic identity and the positive stereotype scores for other groups. However, there were no significant positive or negative relationships between ethnic identity and positive stereotype scores for other groups.

Table 8

Correlation Coefficients Between Group X's Identity Scores
and Positive Stereotype Scores for Other Groups (Y)

		Ethnic Group (Y)			
Ethnic Group (X)		Latino	African American	Caucasian	Asian American
38	Latino		-.08	-.08	-.01
	(n=34)		p=.321	p=.331	p=.467
	African American	-.10		-.14	-.06
	(n=35)	p=.291		p=.216	p=.373
	Caucasian	-.02	-.23		.10
	(n=42)	p=.446	p=.074		p=.276
	Asian American	.17	.23	.13	
	(n=39)	p=.156	p=.077	p=.210	

* $p < .05$

Note: a positive correlation coefficient indicates a positive relationship between the identity scores (X → X) and the positive stereotype scores assigned by X to Y.

Relationship Between Ethnic Identity and Negative Stereotype Scores for Other Groups

Table 9 reveals information regarding the relationship between ethnic identity and the absolute values of negative stereotype scores for other groups. A positive relationship indicates that as ethnic identity for a person's own group increased, the absolute values of negative stereotype scores for other groups also increased. This means that if you more strongly identify yourself to your ethnic group then you will evaluate other groups more negatively [Note: a higher absolute value of a negative stereotype score implies a more negative evaluation]. In contrast, a negative relationship indicates that as ethnic identity for a person's own group increased, the absolute values of negative stereotype scores for other groups decreased. This implies that, if you more strongly identify yourself to your own ethnic group, then you will evaluate other groups less negatively.

As can be seen in Table 9, some of the groups showed a positive relationship and others showed a negative relationship between their own ethnic identity and the absolute values of negative stereotype scores for the other groups. A significant positive relationship between identity scores and the absolute values of negative stereotype scores for other groups was found for African

Americans' evaluation of Caucasians' ($r(34) = .37, p < .05$). Also, a significant negative relationship between identity scores and the absolute values of negative stereotype scores for other groups was found for Asian Americans' evaluation of Caucasians ($r(38) = -.31, p < .05$).

Table 9

Correlation Coefficients Between Group X's Identity Scores
and Negative Stereotype Scores for Other Groups (Y)

Ethnic Group (X)	Ethnic Group (Y)			
	Latino	African American	Caucasian	Asian American
Latino (n=34)		.13 p=.227	.12 p=.242	-.25 p=.075
African American (n=35)	.12 p=.253		.37 p=.017*	.17 p=.170
Caucasian (n=42)	.07 p=.334	.21 p=.094		-.21 p=.091
Asian American (n=39)	-.14 p=.197	-.19 p=.128	-.31 p=.031*	

* $p < .05$

Note: A negative coefficient indicates a negative relationship between the identity score (X → X) and the absolute negative stereotype scores assigned by X to Y.

Terms Used for Stereotypes

Tables 10a and 10b list 30 terms that, as indicated by the literature, are commonly used as stereotypes (Table 10a lists the mean ratings of the terms according to the original scale; Table 10b lists the mean ratings of the terms after the scale transformation). These were the 30 terms used by the subjects to evaluate the members of all the groups. As can be seen in Tables 10a and 10b, there were some differences in the valence assigned to the terms by the different ethnic groups. Most of the terms were rated consistently toward the neutral to positive side (i.e., a rating of 3 or above on the original scale of 1 to 5, 1 being negative, 3 being neutral, and 5 being positive; or a rating of 0 or above on the scale after the transformation. 0 being neutral, negative values indicating negative evaluations, and positive values indicating positive evaluations). Examples include the mean total group rating for *aggressive*, which is 3.16 on the original scale, and 0.16 after the scale transformation; and for *ambitious*, which is 4.31 on the original scale, and 1.31 after the scale transformation. Some of the terms were evaluated toward the negative side (i.e., less than 3 on the original scale and less than 0 on the scale after the transformation). Examples include the mean total group rating for *cruel*, which is 1.41 originally, and -1.59 after

the scale transformation; and for *lazy*, originally 1.45, and -1.55 after the scale transformation).

Although the four ethnic groups generally gave the terms ratings on the same side of positive or negative, there were a few noteworthy exceptions. For example, *aggressive* was given a rating higher than 3 according to the original scale (greater than 0 after the scale transformation) by all groups except Asian Americans, who rated it below 3 according to the original scale (less than 3 after the scale transformation). In addition, African Americans and Asian Americans rated *quiet* as positive while Latinos and Caucasians rated it as slightly negative.

Table 10a

Original Scale: Mean Ratings for Terms by Ethnic Group

Terms	Ethnic Group				
	African American	Latino	Caucasian	Asian American	Total Group
Aggressive	3.57	3.38	3.10	2.67	3.16
Ambitious	4.46	4.32	4.40	4.05	4.31
Boastful	2.46	2.67	2.14	2.08	2.32
Cruel	1.41	1.45	1.24	1.54	1.41
Efficient	4.57	4.29	4.45	4.21	4.38
Happy-go-lucky	4.00	4.09	3.67	3.61	3.83
Honest	4.51	4.68	4.83	4.36	4.60
Impulsive	2.69	3.00	2.79	2.62	2.77
Ignorant	1.60	1.62	1.36	1.82	1.59
Individualistic	3.17	3.44	3.64	3.08	3.34
Industrious	4.09	4.00	4.21	4.00	4.08
Intelligent	4.46	4.59	4.76	4.31	4.53
Lazy	1.29	1.26	1.43	1.77	1.45

Loyal to Family Ties	4.75	4.71	4.40	4.54	4.59
Materialistic	2.60	2.53	2.38	2.79	2.57
Musical	3.86	3.88	3.79	3.92	3.86
Naive	2.20	2.38	2.21	2.74	2.39
Neat	4.46	4.09	4.05	4.18	4.19
Persistent	4.23	3.79	4.00	3.72	3.93
Practical	4.17	3.91	4.14	3.97	4.05
Quick Tempered	2.09	2.03	1.88	2.33	2.08
Quiet	3.34	2.97	2.98	3.36	3.16
Sensitive	3.74	3.79	3.83	3.59	3.74
Sensual	3.46	3.85	3.55	3.10	3.48
Shrewd	2.37	2.21	2.31	2.74	2.41
Slovenly	2.27	2.00	1.93	2.28	2.12
Superstitious	2.17	2.44	2.36	2.59	2.39
Stubborn	2.49	2.27	2.26	2.23	2.31
Unreliable	1.32	1.41	1.29	1.49	1.38
Very Religious	4.14	3.91	3.74	3.87	3.91

On the original scale: Scores ranged from 1 (negative) to 3 (neutral) to 5 (positive).

The higher a positive score, the more positive it indicates.

Table 10b
After Scale Transformation: Mean Ratings for Terms by Ethnic Group

	Ethnic Group					
	Terms	African American	Latino	Caucasian	Asian American	Total Group
46	Aggressive	.57	0.38	.10	-.33	.16
	Ambitious	1.46	1.32	1.40	1.05	1.31
	Boastful	-.54	-.33	-.86	-.92	-.68
	Cruel	-1.59	-1.55	-1.76	-1.46	-1.59
	Efficient	1.57	1.29	1.45	1.42	1.38
	Happy-go-lucky	1.00	1.09	.67	.61	.83
	Honest	1.51	1.68	1.83	1.36	1.60
	Impulsive	-.31	.00	-.21	-.38	-.23
	Ignorant	-1.40	-1.38	-1.64	-1.18	-1.41
	Individualistic	.17	.44	.64	.08	.34
	Industrious	1.09	1.00	1.21	1.00	1.08
	Intelligent	1.46	1.59	1.76	1.31	1.53
	Lazy	-1.71	-1.74	-1.57	-1.23	-1.55

Loyal to Family Ties	1.75	1.71	1.40	1.54	1.59
Materialistic	-.40	-.47	-.62	-.21	-.43
Musical	.86	.88	.79	.92	.86
Naive	-.80	-.62	-.79	-.26	-.61
Neat	1.46	1.09	1.05	1.18	1.19
Persistent	1.23	.79	1.00	.72	.93
Practical	1.17	.91	1.14	.97	1.05
Quick Tempered	-.91	-.97	-1.12	-.67	-.92
Quiet	.34	-.03	-.02	.36	.16
Sensitive	.74	.79	.83	.59	.74
Sensual	.46	.85	.55	.10	.48
Shrewd	-.63	-.79	-.69	-.26	-.59
Slovenly	-.73	-1.00	-1.07	-.72	-.88
Superstitious	-.83	-.56	-.64	-.41	-.61
Stubborn	-.51	-.73	-.74	-.77	-.69
Unreliable	-1.68	-1.59	-1.71	-.51	-1.62
Very Religious	1.14	.91	.74	.87	.91

Note: After scale transformation: Scores ranged from -2 (negative) to 0 (neutral) to 2 (positive). The higher a positive score, the more positive it indicates.

The higher the absolute value of a negative score, the more negative it indicates.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to provide information regarding ethnic identity and familiarity and the influence these variables may have on stereotypes.

The results provide partial support for the first hypothesis that level of familiarity would be positively associated with positive stereotype scores. The results show that as the groups became more familiar with each other, they tended to evaluate each other with more positive stereotypes. All the groups had moderate to high familiarity with each other.

The relationship between the level of familiarity and the degree of significant stereotypic evaluations of each other varied. For example, no significant positive relationship was detected between familiarity and the positive stereotype scores that Latinos gave to Caucasians and Asian Americans. In contrast, there was a significant association between familiarity and the positive stereotype scores given by Latinos to African Americans. These findings are of interest since Latinos gave African Americans lower levels of positive stereotype scores than they gave to the other groups. It is unclear if these results indicate that Latinos generally have lower positive evaluations of African Americans which become more positive as they become more familiar with them or that familiarity

is not an important factor in Latinos' overall high evaluations of Caucasians and Asian Americans. It is more likely that both factors are operating and that this issue will be best clarified in future research that assesses the relationship between familiarity and positive stereotypes.

The results for African Americans reveal that there was a significant association between familiarity and their positive stereotypic evaluations of members of their own group and Latinos. These results suggest that as African Americans become more familiar with Latinos or more focused on their own cultural characteristics, their positive stereotypic evaluations of Latinos and their own group increase.

Although the association between familiarity and positive stereotypes was in the expected direction in African Americans' ratings of Caucasians and Asian Americans, these results were not significant. In fact, the weakest association of familiarity and positive stereotypes was for Asian Americans. Of interest here is that African Americans gave their highest positive stereotype score to Asian Americans. It appears from this data that familiarity is not an important factor in African Americans' positive evaluations of Asian Americans.

Considering the familiarity scores and positive stereotype scores Caucasians gave to the other groups, we

found that the relationship between these two sets of scores was significant for Latinos and African Americans. Of interest is the fact that Latinos and African Americans represent the two groups that received lower positive stereotype scores from Caucasians in comparison to the other groups. Once again, it appears that as Caucasians become more familiar with Latinos and African Americans their evaluations of these groups are influenced in a positive direction.

In contrast, this association was not significant in Caucasians ratings of themselves and their ratings of Asian Americans. This finding may be because both Caucasians and Asian Americans represent a diverse group of individuals of varying sociocultural backgrounds who may mainly associate only with members of their own sociocultural subgroup. Therefore, not only is it difficult to establish the extent to which Caucasians associate with heterogeneous groups such as their own or Asian Americans, it is also difficult to evaluate the influence that familiarity had on the positive stereotype scores Caucasians gave to their own group or Asian Americans.

For Asian Americans, familiarity significantly influenced their ratings of positive stereotype scores for Latinos, and their own group, but this relationship is only moderate for Caucasians and African Americans. Although the

Asian American group indicated they have high familiarity with Caucasians and African Americans, their opinion of Caucasians and African Americans is not strongly affected by this high level of contact. However, it appears that as Asian Americans become more familiar with Latinos they are more likely to increase their favorable opinion of this group. Even though Asian Americans gave their own group a moderately high stereotype score, familiarity was still able to have a significant influence on the positive stereotype scores they assigned to their own group. It is likely that as Asian Americans become more familiar with their own group the positiveness of the stereotype scores they assign to themselves will still continue to increase.

Overall, it appears that familiarity has a varying amount of influence depending upon the degree of positive evaluations that exist between particular groups. We speculate that for some groups that have a low to moderate positive opinion of each other, familiarity may make apparent differences in their evaluations. In contrast, when some groups already have a high opinion of one another there may not be much room for familiarity to change the evaluations of these groups. In general, it is possible that those groups who have a less positive view of one another can improve their viewpoint in a positive direction by increasing their level of familiarity with one another.

Much of the literature has focused on the impact of familiarity on negative stereotypes (Berry and Kalin, 1979; Amir et al., 1973). Research on the impact of contact on positive stereotypes suggests that it may increase them (McAndrew, 1991) or have no great impact (Ray, 1983). The results of this study provide support for both of these suggestions -- in general, it appears that contact or familiarity has little impact when opinions are already high but does when opinions are low.

Moreover, since it is easier to stereotype groups that are considered to be homogeneous (Lalonde and Gardner, 1989), heterogeneous groups such as Caucasians and Asian Americans should be more difficult to stereotype. Since people generally assume there is more homogeneity among Latinos and African Americans, there may also be a greater tendency to stereotype these groups. Familiarity may thus have less influence on the stereotyping of Caucasians and Asian Americans if people consider these groups to contain individuals who have greater variability within their range of attributes. Future research will need to determine if people are more likely to use a greater range of attributes in their evaluations of such heterogeneous groups.

According to the literature, another factor to consider when assessing how familiarity influences groups' attitudes of one another is the situation under which the contact

occurs. That is, the context within which contact occurs among different groups may also be a critical factor in the attitudes groups have of one another (Ray, 1989; Allport, 1954). If the contact occurs under favorable circumstances then one group's opinion of another is likely to be more positive than if the groups had met under unfavorable circumstances. Unfortunately, in this study, we did not assess the "favorableness" of conditions under which the various groups became familiar with each other. It is quite possible that this too may have impacted the positive stereotypes expressed.

Ray (1989) also makes a distinction between "attitudes" and "behaviors" of group members. One group may have a positive attitude toward another group, but it does not always lead to favorable behaviors toward the target group. This gap between how one "thinks" and how one "acts" toward others addresses the need to consider several variables, along with familiarity, that need to be assessed when examining how groups evaluate one another.

The hypothesis that stated that as an individual became more strongly identified with his or her own ethnic group that individual was more likely to associate fellow group members with positive stereotypes was partially supported. The results show that, for all the groups, there was a positive relationship between identity and the positive

stereotype scores that the groups assigned to themselves. These were significant relationships for Caucasians and Asian Americans.

Although the relationship between ethnic identity and positive stereotype scores for one's own group was in the expected positive direction for Latinos and African Americans, these relationships were not significant. This may be due to the fact that African Americans and Latinos rated themselves with a high identity score (African Americans = 3.33; Latinos = 3.11), and a moderately positive stereotype score (African Americans = 7.40; Latinos = 7.87). Identity may not have a great influence on positive stereotype scores for Latinos and African Americans because these groups as a whole have already established a strong cultural identity. That is, Latinos and African Americans have a history of focusing on their identity so it may not be an issue as far as influencing how they evaluate members of their own groups.

Ethnic identity did, however, have a significant influence on how Asian Americans evaluated their own group with positive stereotypes. Asian Americans rated themselves with the highest positive stereotype score (8.03) among all the groups they evaluated, and a high identity score (3.04). Another significant relationship between ethnic identity and positive stereotypes was found for the Caucasian group.

Despite Caucasians having a moderate identity score (2.82) that was the lowest of all the groups, their positive stereotype score (7.45) was significantly related to their identity.

It may be that for Caucasians and Asian Americans identity played a significant role in influencing their positive evaluations of their own groups because these groups are more diversified in their "ethnic identification" than Latinos and African Americans. That is, because the words "Caucasian" and "Asian American" are labels that represent a wide range of groups of people from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds, identity may only be an influence for recent subgroups of individuals from these groups.

Although it has been suggested that identity is not an area that Whites, or Caucasians, have been encouraged to explore (Carter, 1990), Phinney (1992) states that the continuing influxes of minority populations into traditionally Caucasian neighborhoods may make ethnic identity a more salient issue for Caucasians. Therefore, for Caucasians, identity may be focused on more keenly by some because it is a necessary factor in establishing how they evaluate themselves within the confines of their ever-decreasing majority status.

Most Asian Americans groups share a commonality in that

they place great importance on emphasizing the values and needs of their group as a whole, rather than on individuals (Rosenthal and Feldman, 1992). However, Asian Americans also comprise diverse groups of peoples originating from more than twenty different countries and including at least 29 different subgroups (Yoshioka, Tashima, Ichew, & Maurase, 1981). This diversity has resulted in Asian American populations who vary in their cultural practices and beliefs (Wong, 1985). Additionally, most Asian Americans in the United States are foreign born, with the exception of Japanese Americans (McLeod, 1986). Therefore, since Asian Americans represent such a diverse group in this country, it is not unexpected that each subgroup of Asian Americans may establish their own identity in different ways and with differing intensity within the larger framework of the entire Asian American population.

In general, it appears that identity is related to an ethnic group's evaluation of its own members, but there also appears to be several dynamic factors operating within groups that also have to be examined. An important focus for future research would be to consider how "range" of ethnic identification may vary among ethnic groups.

The hypothesis that stated that as ethnic identity-increased, the negative stereotype scores for a particular group would decrease was also partially supported. The

results show that, for all the groups, there was a negative relationship between ethnic identity and the absolute values of stereotype scores the groups assigned to themselves. This relationship was significantly found in the Caucasian group. Since the other groups had higher identity scores in comparison to Caucasians, we speculate that these groups may be in a strong phase of their ethnic identification and are therefore less acknowledging of negative opinions regarding their own groups. According to Phinney (1990), groups that have a stronger sense of their own ethnic group identification are more likely to have positive attitudes about their group. Since Caucasians' degree of ethnic identification was not as strong, it is not surprising that they would have unresolved negative feelings about themselves.

An exploratory analysis of the influence that ethnic identity has on positive and negative stereotypes for other groups was also conducted. Both positive and negative relationships were found between one's ethnic identity and the positive stereotype evaluations individuals gave to other groups. However, no significant relationships were detected. Similarly, there were both positive and negative relationships found between one's ethnic identity and the evaluations individuals gave to other groups. Significant relationships were detected between: 1) African Americans'

identity and their stereotypic evaluations of Caucasians; and 2) Asian Americans' identity and their stereotypic evaluations of Caucasians. In general, this study did not find that identity has a strong influence on how groups evaluate one another with regard to stereotypes. Although Wilder and Shapiro (1991) have suggested that a salient identification with one's own group should promote stereotypic beliefs about other groups, this study did not find much support for this conclusion.

Conclusion

In sum, this is one of the few studies that looked at the valence assigned to stereotypic terms from a particular ethnic group to other ethnic groups. Generally, the groups were in agreement as to the positive or negative rating they gave the terms, with some exceptions in this regard. However, there were some differences in the degree of positive and negative evaluations. This suggests that future research that examines the relationship between stereotypes and ethnicity must also assess the potential differences that may exist among various ethnic groups when they ascribe valence to stereotypic terms.

It is also suggested that future research should consider possible mitigating factors which may influence how groups evaluate one another. Although for some groups familiarity and ethnic identification were found to

correlate significantly with the way in which individuals evaluate their own group and others, there are issues such as group diversification and range of attributional terms that must be more clearly scrutinized before conclusions can be drawn. Therefore, clarification of these issues for future research on stereotypes is strongly encouraged.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: DEMOGRAPHIC SHEET

In response to the following set of questions, please make an "X" in the appropriate space, or enter a number indicating your answer.

1. What is your age? _____
2. What is your sex? _____ M _____ F
3. What is your marital status?
_____ Married _____ Separated _____ Divorced
_____ Widowed _____ Never Married _____ Remarried
4. What is your ethnic background?
_____ Black _____ Hispanic _____ Native American
_____ White _____ Asian/Pacific Islander
_____ Other(specify) _____
5. Present yearly income for your household:
_____ Under \$15,000 _____ \$15,000 - \$25,000 _____ \$25,000 - \$35,000
_____ \$35,000 - \$45,000 _____ \$45,000 - \$55,000 _____ Over \$55,000
6. What was the main occupation of the family in which you were raised?
_____ Professional _____ Technical _____ Clerical
_____ Managerial _____ Skilled Labor _____ Unskilled Labor
_____ Other (Specify) _____
7. What is the total number of years of education you have had? _____

APPENDIX B: THE MULTIGROUP ETHNIC IDENTITY MEASURE

In this country, people come from a lot of different cultures and there are many different words to describe the different backgrounds or **ethnic groups** that people come from. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are Mexican-American, Hispanic, Black, Asian-American, American Indian, Anglo-American, and White. Every person is born into an ethnic group, or sometimes two groups, but people differ on how important their **ethnicity** is to them, how they feel about it, and how much their behavior is affected by it. These questions are about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it.

Please fill in:

In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be: _____

Circle a number to the right of each statement to indicate how much you agree or disagree with that statement.

- 1 means that you **Strongly disagree** with the statement.
 2 means that you **Somewhat disagree** with the statement.
 3 means that you **Somewhat agree** with the statement.
 4 means that you **Strongly agree** with the statement.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.....	1	2	3	4
2. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.....	1	2	3	4
3. I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.....	1	2	3	4
4. I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own.....	1	2	3	4
5. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.....	1	2	3	4
6. I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.....	1	2	3	4

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
7. I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't try to mix together.....	1	2	3	4
8. I am not very clear about the role of ethnicity in my life.....	1	2	3	4
9. I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own.....	1	2	3	4
10. I really have not spent much time trying to learn more about the culture and history of my ethnic group.....	1	2	3	4
11. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.....	1	2	3	4
12. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me, in terms of how to relate to my own group and other groups.....	1	2	3	4
13. In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.....	1	2	3	4
14. I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and its accomplishments.....	1	2	3	4
15. I don't try to become friends with people from other ethnic groups.....	1	2	3	4
16. I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.....	1	2	3	4
17. I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups.....	1	2	3	4
18. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.....	1	2	3	4
19. I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than my own.....	1	2	3	4
20. I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.....	1	2	3	4

For the following three questions, in the space to the right of the question, write in the number from the list below that gives the best answer to each question.

21. My ethnicity is.....

- 1) Asian, Asian American, or Oriental
- 2) Black or African American
- 3) Hispanic or Latino
- 4) White, Caucasian, European, not Hispanic
- 5) American Indian
- 6) Mixed; parents are from two different groups
- 7) Other (Write in):_____

22. My father's ethnicity is (use numbers above).....

23. My mother's ethnicity is (use numbers above).....

APPENDIX C: LEVEL OF CONTACT SCALE

Circle a number to the right of each statement to indicate how much you agree or disagree with that statement.

- 1 means that you **Strongly disagree** with the statement.
 2 means that you **Somewhat disagree** with the statement.
 3 means that you **Somewhat agree** with the statement.
 4 means that you **Strongly agree** with the statement.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
1. I like meeting and getting to know people from the following ethnic groups:				
a. Latino.....	1	2	3	4
b. White.....	1	2	3	4
c. African-American.....	1	2	3	4
d. Asian.....	1	2	3	4
2. I sometimes feel it would be better if I did not mix with the following ethnic groups:				
a. Latino.....	1	2	3	4
b. White.....	1	2	3	4
c. African-American.....	1	2	3	4
d. Asian.....	1	2	3	4
3. I often spend time with people from the following ethnic groups:				
a. Latino.....	1	2	3	4
b. White.....	1	2	3	4
c. African-American.....	1	2	3	4
d. Asian.....	1	2	3	4
4. I don't try to become friends with people from the following ethnic groups:				
a. Latino.....	1	2	3	4
b. White.....	1	2	3	4
c. African-American.....	1	2	3	4
d. Asian.....	1	2	3	4

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
5. I am involved in activities with people from the following ethnic groups:				
a. Latino.....	1	2	3	4
b. White.....	1	2	3	4
c. African-American.....	1	2	3	4
d. Asian.....	1	2	3	4
6. I enjoy being around people from the following ethnic groups:				
a. Latino.....	1	2	3	4
b. White.....	1	2	3	4
c. African-American.....	1	2	3	4
d. Asian.....	1	2	3	4

APPENDIX D: THE ETHNIC STEREOTYPE QUESTIONNAIRE

From the following list of words, please choose the ten (10) which you consider to be most representative of **African Americans** and place a ✓ mark by them.

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> aggressive | <input type="checkbox"/> industrious | <input type="checkbox"/> quick tempered |
| <input type="checkbox"/> ambitious | <input type="checkbox"/> intelligent | <input type="checkbox"/> quiet |
| <input type="checkbox"/> boastful | <input type="checkbox"/> lazy | <input type="checkbox"/> sensitive |
| <input type="checkbox"/> cruel | <input type="checkbox"/> loyal to family ties | <input type="checkbox"/> sensual |
| <input type="checkbox"/> efficient | <input type="checkbox"/> materialistic | <input type="checkbox"/> shrewd |
| <input type="checkbox"/> happy-go-lucky | <input type="checkbox"/> musical | <input type="checkbox"/> slovenly |
| <input type="checkbox"/> honest | <input type="checkbox"/> naive | <input type="checkbox"/> superstitious |
| <input type="checkbox"/> impulsive | <input type="checkbox"/> neat | <input type="checkbox"/> stubborn |
| <input type="checkbox"/> ignorant | <input type="checkbox"/> persistent | <input type="checkbox"/> unreliable |
| <input type="checkbox"/> individualistic | <input type="checkbox"/> practical | <input type="checkbox"/> very religious |

Look at the 10 words you have put ✓ marks by and rank order them on the lines provided below. Of the words you have checked, #1 should be the word you consider to be the most representative of the ten you have selected, and #10 should be the word you consider to be the least representative of the ten you have selected.

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____
- 4) _____
- 5) _____
- 6) _____
- 7) _____
- 8) _____
- 9) _____
- 10) _____

From the following list of words, please choose the ten (10) which you consider to be most representative of **Latinos** and place a ✓ mark by them.

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> aggressive | <input type="checkbox"/> industrious | <input type="checkbox"/> quick tempered |
| <input type="checkbox"/> ambitious | <input type="checkbox"/> intelligent | <input type="checkbox"/> quiet |
| <input type="checkbox"/> boastful | <input type="checkbox"/> lazy | <input type="checkbox"/> sensitive |
| <input type="checkbox"/> cruel | <input type="checkbox"/> loyal to family ties | <input type="checkbox"/> sensual |
| <input type="checkbox"/> efficient | <input type="checkbox"/> materialistic | <input type="checkbox"/> shrewd |
| <input type="checkbox"/> happy-go-lucky | <input type="checkbox"/> musical | <input type="checkbox"/> slovenly |
| <input type="checkbox"/> honest | <input type="checkbox"/> naive | <input type="checkbox"/> superstitious |
| <input type="checkbox"/> impulsive | <input type="checkbox"/> neat | <input type="checkbox"/> stubborn |
| <input type="checkbox"/> ignorant | <input type="checkbox"/> persistent | <input type="checkbox"/> unreliable |
| <input type="checkbox"/> individualistic | <input type="checkbox"/> practical | <input type="checkbox"/> very religious |

Look at the 10 words you have put ✓ marks by and rank order them on the lines provided below. Of the words you have checked, #1 should be the word you consider to be the most representative of the ten you have selected, and #10 should be the word you consider to be the least representative of the ten you have selected.

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____
- 4) _____
- 5) _____
- 6) _____
- 7) _____
- 8) _____
- 9) _____
- 10) _____

From the following list of words, please choose the ten (10) which you consider to be most representative of **Caucasians** and place a ✓ mark by them.

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> aggressive | <input type="checkbox"/> industrious | <input type="checkbox"/> quick tempered |
| <input type="checkbox"/> ambitious | <input type="checkbox"/> intelligent | <input type="checkbox"/> quiet |
| <input type="checkbox"/> boastful | <input type="checkbox"/> lazy | <input type="checkbox"/> sensitive |
| <input type="checkbox"/> cruel | <input type="checkbox"/> loyal to family ties | <input type="checkbox"/> sensual |
| <input type="checkbox"/> efficient | <input type="checkbox"/> materialistic | <input type="checkbox"/> shrewd |
| <input type="checkbox"/> happy-go-lucky | <input type="checkbox"/> musical | <input type="checkbox"/> slovenly |
| <input type="checkbox"/> honest | <input type="checkbox"/> naive | <input type="checkbox"/> superstitious |
| <input type="checkbox"/> impulsive | <input type="checkbox"/> neat | <input type="checkbox"/> stubborn |
| <input type="checkbox"/> ignorant | <input type="checkbox"/> persistent | <input type="checkbox"/> unreliable |
| <input type="checkbox"/> individualistic | <input type="checkbox"/> practical | <input type="checkbox"/> very religious |

Look at the 10 words you have put ✓ marks by and rank order them on the lines provided below. Of the words you have checked, #1 should be the word you consider to be the most representative of the ten you have selected, and #10 should be the word you consider to be the least representative of the ten you have selected.

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____
- 4) _____
- 5) _____
- 6) _____
- 7) _____
- 8) _____
- 9) _____
- 10) _____

From the following list of words, please choose the ten (10) which you consider to be most representative of **Asian Americans** and place a ✓ mark by them.

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> aggressive | <input type="checkbox"/> industrious | <input type="checkbox"/> quick tempered |
| <input type="checkbox"/> ambitious | <input type="checkbox"/> intelligent | <input type="checkbox"/> quiet |
| <input type="checkbox"/> boastful | <input type="checkbox"/> lazy | <input type="checkbox"/> sensitive |
| <input type="checkbox"/> cruel | <input type="checkbox"/> loyal to family ties | <input type="checkbox"/> sensual |
| <input type="checkbox"/> efficient | <input type="checkbox"/> materialistic | <input type="checkbox"/> shrewd |
| <input type="checkbox"/> happy-go-lucky | <input type="checkbox"/> musical | <input type="checkbox"/> slovenly |
| <input type="checkbox"/> honest | <input type="checkbox"/> naive | <input type="checkbox"/> superstitious |
| <input type="checkbox"/> impulsive | <input type="checkbox"/> neat | <input type="checkbox"/> stubborn |
| <input type="checkbox"/> ignorant | <input type="checkbox"/> persistent | <input type="checkbox"/> unreliable |
| <input type="checkbox"/> individualistic | <input type="checkbox"/> practical | <input type="checkbox"/> very religious |

Look at the 10 words you have put ✓ marks by and rank order them on the lines provided below. Of the words you have checked, #1 should be the word you consider to be the most representative of the ten you have selected, and #10 should be the word you consider to be the least representative of the ten you have selected.

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____
- 4) _____
- 5) _____
- 6) _____
- 7) _____
- 8) _____
- 9) _____
- 10) _____

For each of the words below, think about how that word affects you and rate it on the scale provided:

1 - means the word is **negative** in meaning.

3 - means the word is **neutral** in meaning.

5 - means the word is **positive** in meaning.

Using these words as guides, indicate how you feel about the words by circling the number which most closely approximates your feelings.

		Negative		Neutral		Positive
1)	aggressive.....	1	2	3	4	5
2)	ambitious.....	1	2	3	4	5
3)	boastful.....	1	2	3	4	5
4)	cruel.....	1	2	3	4	5
5)	efficient.....	1	2	3	4	5
6)	happy-go-lucky.....	1	2	3	4	5
7)	honest.....	1	2	3	4	5
8)	impulsive.....	1	2	3	4	5
9)	ignorant.....	1	2	3	4	5
10)	individualistic.....	1	2	3	4	5
11)	industrious.....	1	2	3	4	5
12)	intelligent.....	1	2	3	4	5
13)	lazy.....	1	2	3	4	5
14)	loyal to family ties.....	1	2	3	4	5
15)	materialistic.....	1	2	3	4	5
16)	musical.....	1	2	3	4	5
17)	naive.....	1	2	3	4	5
18)	neat.....	1	2	3	4	5
19)	persistent.....	1	2	3	4	5
20)	practical.....	1	2	3	4	5
21)	quick tempered.....	1	2	3	4	5
22)	quiet.....	1	2	3	4	5
23)	sensitive.....	1	2	3	4	5
24)	sensual.....	1	2	3	4	5
25)	shrewd.....	1	2	3	4	5

		Negative		Neutral		Positive	
26)	slovenly.....	1	2	3	4	5	
27)	superstitious.....	1	2	3	4	5	
28)	stubborn.....	1	2	3	4	5	
29)	unreliable.....	1	2	3	4	5	
30)	very religious.....	1	2	3	4	5	

APPENDIX E: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

The study in which you are about to participate is designed to investigate the relationship between ethnicity and stereotypes. This study is being conducted by Teresa Patchill under the supervision of Dr. Faith McClure, professor of psychology. This study has been approved by the Human Subject Review Board, Psychology Department, California State University San Bernardino.

For this study you will be asked to complete a paper and pencil (or pen) questionnaire concerning questions about ethnicity and stereotypes. It will take approximately 30 minutes for you to complete the questionnaire. Please understand that all information you provide will remain confidential, and at no time will your name be reported along with your responses. All data will be reported in group form only. At the conclusion of the study, you may receive a report of the results.

Please note that your participation in this research is totally voluntary and you are free to withdraw at any time during this study without penalty. You may also remove data at any time during the study. All questions you have pertaining to the study will be answered by the researcher.

You may also contact Dr. Faith McClure of the Psychology Department at CSUSB, (909) 880-5598, with your questions, comments, or concerns. If you have any further questions, comments, or concerns, you may contact the CSUSB Human Subjects Institutional Review Board through the office of the Dean of Graduate Studies (AD-126).

I acknowledge that I have been informed of, and understand, the nature and purpose of this study, and I freely consent to participate. I acknowledge that I am at least 18 years of age.

Participant's Signature

Date

Researcher's Signature

Date

APPENDIX F: DEBRIEFING STATEMENT

Thank you for participating in this study. The purpose of this study is to examine how the level of familiarity one has with ethnic groups other than one's own would influence the stereotypes one has for those groups. This study is also examining the relationship between an individual's degree of ethnic identity and the stereotypes an individual perceives for his or her own group and other ethnic groups.

This research should be completed by September 1994. The general results of the study may be obtained from Dr. Faith McClure of the Psychology Department at California State University, San Bernardino [(909) 880-5598]. If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study you may contact Dr. McClure or the C.S.U.S.B. Department of Psychology's Human Subjects Review Board through the Dean of Graduate Studies (AD-127; ext: 5058).

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